

# PEACE NEWS

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2d.

A New Year Message from **Dr. ALEX WOOD**, Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union

## RETROSPECT and PROSPECT

**I**T is difficult to say just why God made the earth spin round on its axis and why he made it revolve round the sun, but one obvious advantage of the arrangement is the way it divides time up into intervals.

Every time the earth spins once round on its axis we have the alternation of light and darkness, and a new day dawns with fresh opportunities. Every time the earth completes its circuit of the sun we have the alternation of summer and winter, and a new year begins.

Things would be very dull without this arrangement, and we should lack the obvious justification we now have for looking backward and forward as we cross the threshold into another year.

In many ways there is little to encourage pacifists in the record of the past year. The area of the war has been steadily extended, and is still widening.

The horrors of aerial bombing have been accepted by both sides, and night after night the bombing planes carrying their message of death and destruction leave their bases, pass one another in an aerial "no man's land" and find some targets in the territories of their respective enemies. Each side reports the number of churches, hospitals, and schools destroyed by the enemy bombers and the number of military objectives hit by their own.

Meantime masses of frightened humanity in Germany and in this country fill the tubes and underground shelters to the imminent danger of their health, and suffer the disruption of family life involved in the evacuation of the (militarily) less useful members of the community.

### CAUGHT IN WAR EFFORT

More and more the civilian gets caught up in the war effort. Beautiful things are no longer produced, and useful things are produced only if useful, directly or indirectly, for the war. The standard of living drops steadily as the shops become more empty and goods are rationed by scarcity as well as by regulation. U-boats take their weekly toll of our shipping, and articles of food which we had come to depend on disappear from our tables.

We on our part do what we can to impose a regime of scarcity on a whole continent, giving malnutrition an opportunity to do its deadly work, forgetful of the psychological consequences of the blockade of 1918 and oblivious to the fact that it is the nations whom we would fain call our friends who will bear the brunt of our callousness.

Meanwhile our leaders encourage us with the prospects of the campaigns of 1942, 1943, and even later, and endeavour to convince us that we and our enemies are locked in a struggle to the death which can only end when one contestant stands triumphant over the prostrate body of his foe. Truly there is not much in all this to encourage us as we pass on into 1941.

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Yet while this picture gives the truth, it does not give the whole truth. Close observation reveals other features which are more encouraging.

There is little jingoism to be found among the people. Hatred and bitterness directed against the whole German nation, the self-righteousness which attributes the whole responsibility

for the war to the Nazis, or even to Herr Hitler personally—these attitudes of mind are all too common, but they are by no means universal, and when they find public expression as in the broadcasts of Sir Robert Vansittart, they invariably provoke spirited protests from circles by no means pacifist.

Nor is this restraint less obvious in heavily bombed districts. Competent observers have tried to convey the feeling of the people of these stricken areas. It has been described as a "numbed endurance", and there is some evidence that this is passing, not into an indignant clamour for

reprisals, but into a realization that mutual bombing, if continued, is an international suicide pact, leading nowhere, and that the way out must be sought in quite other directions.

Not that we cannot "take" the bombing if the suffering is necessary to achieve our purpose, but that we cannot go on taking it and giving it unless we are sure that it is the way to our goal; and many, not pacifists, are not sure.

### MINDS BEING PREPARED

And what of the government policy of a "fight to a finish" and no negotiation with Hitler?

Here the evidence is more intangible, and I give my own impressions for what they are worth. I am convinced that a growing number of people as they view the long and bloody road mapped out for us, and speculate as to what awaits us at the end of it, are having their minds prepared for the consideration of alternatives.

We pacifists know that a settlement based on a military victory, even if that were possible, could never vindicate the things our leaders profess to fight for. It could only strengthen

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## A BAD DEBT

**W**HEN people, after mismanaging their own affairs, oblige others, who are not responsible, to foot the bill, they owe a good deal more than an apology to those whom they have thus victimised; and this debt which they have shifted to the shoulders of others should be, to a scrupulous conscience, not a "bad debt" never to be repaid, but a debt of honour.

What, then, is to be thought of a debtor who, having saddled the innocent party, without his consent, with the consequences of his wrong-doing, not only forces him to share the loss without apology, but brings the law into operation, and gets him sent to prison for protesting against the injustice of being so imposed on?

And if that applies to persons, does it not apply morally also to nations? Does it not, therefore, apply now to ourselves, in what we are doing to the people of India?

### PRE-WAR BLUNDERS

There is belatedly even among those who were once its supporters, general recognition that the pre-war policy of this country was a profound blunder: it was a policy which gave us the worst of both worlds. For those who believe in preparation for war as a means to security, it was a policy of criminal neglect; for those who believe in a policy of constructive peace, it was a policy of short-sighted optimism which never went to the roots of the trouble with which it was faced.

In both directions, it was a mere scratching of the surface; its so-called "appeasement" represented no real will to peace, but only a wish to be left in peace—a very different thing.

For those ineffective scratchings in two directions, this country is responsible. The mess in which our statesmen have landed us we have brought upon ourselves. We could have got rid of those bad advisers, but we did

not choose to do so; and then, with that sin of omission not as heavy upon our consciences as it should have been, when war came upon us we imposed upon India the consequence of our blunderings, and, without India's consent, have not only forced her to take part in a war which was none of her making, but are sending to prison those who protest against that injustice.

### A FOOLISH POSITION

It is not a pretty picture: and it is doing us more harm than our responsible statesmen seem able to realize—harm to our profession that we are fighting for world-liberty; harm among those who feel sympathy for us in the peril we now stand in.

We have taken this arbitrary course with a people of 380 millions. It is significant that we have not taken it with the people of the Free State of Ireland, whose military aid, in the matter of ports for defence against submarine warfare, is just now probably much more valuable to us than the support of India.

And for those (that is to say, for our politicians) who believe in war and the value of willing military assistance, the position is made more gratuitously foolish in the fact that Congress, representing a large majority of the politically conscious people of India, would give willing assistance in this war which is not of their own making, if we would give them the democratic freedom which we claim to be fighting for.

It is a grotesque position; but it is one of the ironies of war that those who believe in it seem unable to recognize the grotesqueness of the situations in which it lands them.

**Laurence  
Housman**

### Commentary

**Bad Weather—or  
Good Feeling?**

Edited by "Observer"

**I**T is extraordinary. One would have thought that every decent mind would have rejoiced at the absence of air-hostilities during Christmas as an evidence that there is still on either side an instinctive loyalty to the spirit of Christmas peace. Yet the *Daily Telegraph* (Dec. 27) is anxious to dispel the illusion that so humane a motive can have been the cause. "No support has been forthcoming for the suggestion that the inactivity was the result of anything in the nature of a truce." This nefarious suggestion—a spontaneous truce was suggested by the Pope, it will be remembered—is due to German propaganda.

An attempt was made by the German Embassy in Washington to suggest that the lull was due to an agreed truce. The Embassy stated:

"The German Air Force has been instructed to refrain from any action over the British Isles during Christmas Day and the day following unless it is compelled to retaliate for British bombing attacks on Germany."

But no! the *Daily Telegraph* will not have it. The truce was due solely to bad weather. Let us have a little more such bad weather; it makes for good feeling, anyhow. The common man on either side will remain convinced, quite rightly, that the enemy stayed away—because it was Christmas.

### Inevitable Misconceptions

**I**T passes the wit of man to disentangle even a tiny fragment of the truth from amid the confused blare of lying propaganda today. Our endeavour to search out the things "of good report", to chronicle mainly those facts concerning the enemy, which, being grudgingly admitted through the sieve of our propaganda machine, are *prima facie* true, and which make for the diminution of hatred, may indeed have the effect of distorting the reality.

If this be indeed so, it happens against our will. It is not in our power to present the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Would it were! We can do no more than write without the desire to believe evil of the enemy.

At a time when the press in general has a positive desire to believe evil of the enemy—indeed to believe that the enemy is evil incarnate—it is inevitable that we should seem to some to be striving to conceal or extenuate the brutalities of Hitlerism. It cannot be otherwise.

### Natural Ideals

**O**UR single aim is to do what we can to fulfil what the Pope in his message on Christmas Eve defined as the first pre-requisite of a new order.

(Continued on page 2.)

### —1941 Objective—

**C**ONTRIBUTIONS to the Fighting Fund during the last week amounted to £47 10s 3d, making the total to date, £1,186 18s.

Will our generous-hearted friends see to it that we maintain a steady average of £50 a week during the coming year? It is going to be a grim year; and this unwavering support of the Peace News fund not only will make a deep impression on the average man, but will enable us to take advantage of opportunities that are bound to present themselves.

To all those who worked so loyally in selling the Christmas number—our grateful thanks.—The Editor.

## A PACIFIST COMMENTARY

## CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

The triumph over hatred, which is today a cause of division among people. At present, in an unbridled propaganda that does not shrink from altering the truth, day by day and almost hour by hour, the enemy nations are held up in a falsified and insulting light. It is a sacred duty not to let be lost from the sordid dealings of man the natural ideals of truth, justice, consciousness, co-operation in well-doing, and, above all, the supernatural ideal of brotherly love left to the world by Christ.

Mark well the emphasis. Men are fast losing all allegiance even to the natural ideals—let alone the super-natural ones. It is for simple human decency that we are now struggling all the while.

## Treatment of Prisoners

**O**CCASIONALLY a piece of well-authenticated evidence comes into our hands. Such is the report of two Swiss doctors on the conditions in the German camps for prisoners of war in the occupied territories of the West—particularly in Belgium.

There is no denying the fact that these reports are eminently satisfactory. The prisoner of war in hospital receives exactly the same treatment as the German soldier in hospital. The food is good; the opportunities for relaxation and amusement liberal.

It is, of course, open to anyone to say that this record of uniformly good conditions proves nothing, because the Germans are afraid to maltreat their prisoners for fear of reprisals. And against that mentality there is no arguing. But it may be worth while to point out that the prisoners of war in German hands must be at least 20 times as numerous as the German prisoners in ours. If the Germans were the monsters of inhumanity they are reputed to be, it seems illogical in the extreme that they should deny themselves the satisfaction of torturing twenty for one.

## Pump-Priming Up-to-date

**I**T is not easy to make out what is happening in the USA. There have been circumstantial reports that President Roosevelt is preparing to side-step the Johnson Act by lending us not money, but all the war-material American industry can produce, on the understanding that it shall be repaid in kind after the war. This arrangement would be in the nature of a legal fiction, for American industry would not take kindly to the dumping of a few tens of thousands of war-aero-planes after the war. It would be the tragedy of "reparations" all over again.

But there is, of course, no reason why America should not give us all the war-material she can produce. It is as good a way as any extant of priming the capitalist pump, and averting socialization. Just as a capitalist economy is saved by giving its products away to the enemy, so it can be saved by giving them away to a friend. And the new method marks a certain advance in social understanding. For that reason it will not be easy to put across a capitalist democracy. The plain man has an obstinate, though obsolete, conviction that national debts should be repaid.

## Imaginary Production

**M**EANWHILE, sky-scraper plans and figures are being noised abroad. For example, the President is seriously considering a proposal by which the productive capacity of the entire American motor-car industry shall be pooled, and production be increased within six months to 500 fighter planes per day! Hitler may as well throw up the sponge tomorrow.

But the sober fact is that in the whole of the year September 1939 to August 1940 the total number of aeroplanes shipped to Britain from the USA was 743. Less than a day and a half of the new, and highly imaginary, rate of production.

A further check is supplied by the announcement that in 1941 Canada hopes to be producing 12 aeroplanes a day. No doubt American productive capacity is hugely greater than the Canadian; but 100 aeroplanes a day seems much more probable than 500. And then they have to be got across the Atlantic.

## "Short of War"

**I**N these circumstances it is hardly surprising that we should have a report that certain senators—Burton Wheeler and Rush Holt are named—are demanding that the United States should inquire into the prospects of a negotiated peace in Europe. This movement is described by the Daily Express correspondent (Dec. 27) as "the insidious growing American Army of Appeasement." He appeals to his readers "to have no illusions."

There is growing up a large body of Americans who, with slogans like "America First and No Foreign Wars" are playing on the American people's natural unwillingness to send their boys to fight on alien soil.

One great chain of newspapers—the Scripps-Howard—is behind the movement; and its chief figures are Colonel Lindbergh, Henry Ford, General Robert Wood, and Joseph Kennedy. Moreover, it appears that Mr. William Allen White—hitherto the most energetic crusader for "all possible support for Britain short of war"—has partly retired from his crusading, or is at least laying an unpalatable emphasis on "short of war."

## The Military Prospects

**T**HIS movement demanding that the possibilities of a negotiated peace shall be explored before the USA is committed to a path that, it seems, must lead to actual participation in the war, is probably inspired by the wide-spread feeling that there is no hope of a British military victory. A sober judgment of the kind that influences American opinion is that of the military expert of the Swedish

newspaper Dagens Nyheter, Col. Bratt, who is quoted by The Times (Dec. 30).

It is out of the question that Great Britain in the near future can bring about a decision by a military victory over Germany. Even if Italy collapses and parts of the German armies are forced to occupy important Italian territories, British or Anglo-Saxon troops cannot get a firm foothold there or elsewhere on the Continent. In spite of her large forces of occupation, Germany's armies are sufficient for her to gather superiority against any landing operation. The only thing capable of changing the military situation on land would be if Russia directed her forces toward the West. Then it is possible, though not certain, that the German armies in the long run might not suffice for a war on two fronts. In that "long run" a good many other things besides the German armies might not suffice.

## American Aid for Britain

**P**RESIDENT Roosevelt's speech on Dec. 28 gave no encouragement to those who press for an American initiative for negotiated peace. Neither was it optimistic over the prospects of a British victory. The President "believes that the Axis Powers are not going to win the war." And the real substance of his argument was that the USA must do everything short of sending troops to Europe to prevent them from winning it—and specifically to enable Britain to retain command of the sea.

The aim of the President's policy is thus limited; and it may be described as an effort to secure an equality of power between Britain and Germany. Perhaps this may prove to be a practical way of bringing peace a little nearer. If once both Britain and Germany are convinced that an outright military victory is impossible, there may be a dawn of sanity. But experience teaches us that this reciprocal conviction is hard to accomplish.

It is announced that Hitler will reply to the President's speech.

## Italy and Germany

**L**T.-GENERAL Sir Douglas Brownrigg in the Sunday Times (Dec. 22) maintains that the collapse of Italy, if it comes, "will actually be to Germany's advantage." He argues this proposition on purely military grounds, and suggests that the recent alarms and excursions at Vichy are due to German pressure to obtain freedom of passage for their troops into Italy, by a better route than the Brenner pass. Armed occupation of Italy by Germany, says Gen. Brownrigg, would give some of Hitler's idle divisions now eating their heads off in the homeland something to do; and the Italian fleet would be much more energetically employed.

Such speculations are beyond my competence. But in the political realm it seems plain enough that Germany stands to gain by Italy's discomfiture. Exaggerated Italian claims on France are automatically mitigated, and German diplomacy can go its own gait. We have consistently maintained that an understanding with France was much more important to Germany than an alliance with Italy. Mussolini, in trying to put a check on German policy, has facilitated its realization.

## Dignified Replacement

**L**ORD Halifax has gone to Washington, and Mr. Eden has returned to the Foreign Office. Since Lord Halifax is not a person assured in advance of popularity with the American democracy, the appointment is probably to be appraised as a dignified—though unprecedented—method of replacing him as Foreign Secretary by someone more palatable to "progressive" opinion in Britain.

Whether Mr. Eden's considerable reputation is deserved, I have no means of knowing. That he was, and perhaps still is, very popular in the country was due to his partial identification with what was called "a strong League policy." Since that was based on

illusion and could operate only by bluff, support of it is hardly a recommendation.

But no doubt Mr. Eden is better fitted than Lord Halifax to work with Mr. Churchill, and the Labour members of the Government will be pleased at this further eradication of the taint of "the men of Munich".

## "Terrific Game of Soldiers"

**"I** AM bewildered and appalled," writes Mr. R. R. Stokes, MP, to the Daily Mail (Dec. 27) "by the lack of statesmanship of our leaders, who seem too busy playing a terrific game of soldiers to give their mind to anything else."

That seems to me the truth of the situation. They cry: "Victory first!" though it is obvious that a military victory over Germany is unattainable. The only way to weaken the German position is by proclaiming such terms of peace that the German people will desire peace. As Mr. Stokes says: "Make it clear to the Germans that the peace we want would suit them, and they might then begin to wonder why Hitler has given them war when such a peace is possible without fighting."

But the obvious condition of making a proclamation of this kind is a real earnestness for peace on the part of the British Government. It seems unintelligible—considering the suffering this country will shortly be called upon to endure, and is now enduring—but it looks as though Mr. Churchill had no real desire for peace. Mr. Stokes's indictment appears to be true; that he is fascinated and engrossed by the "terrific game of soldiers".

Perhaps it is even worse than that. He has an inkling that any serious proclamation of peace aims that would weaken the war-will of the German people might lead to peace. And that would never do. Few people seem to realize the infinite danger of a "war-minded" leader for Britain at this crucial time. Such leadership is condemned to collaborate with Hitler in the diabolical work of universal disintegration.

## WILFRED WELLOCK on

## ONE has only to be in the company of a child for 24 hours to discover, if one needed to discover, how complex human life is.

An animal learns its routine quickly, and is then left to complete its education with the aid of thousand-year-old instincts of terrific power. To change those instincts is like trying to change the firmament.

In the human world instruction is in eternal conflict with instinct and intuition. Convention lays its heavy hand upon the growing child and fights fiercely for the possession of its soul.

That is why there occur those periodic outbursts known as The Revolt of Youth.

Most adults appear to be quite unable to strike the happy medium between dogmatism and freedom in seeking to guide youth in the selection of its values and its moral codes. They want to force the new generation into the old grooves. They forget that morals are the gateway to life, and thus that even in the sphere of conduct the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and that their own particular pudding may have failed to stimulate the appetite of those whom they would influence.

We have still to learn that freedom is the most precious of all human possessions, and that without it man can never reach the highest virtue. Freedom is the finest gift a parent can bestow upon his children. But the gift should be accompanied by a sketch of its infinite possibilities for good and evil, its power to increase or destroy LIFE.

Moral freedom is more than escape from the bondage of authority; it is the right of the individual to explore life, to estimate and test its values, to taste new and even forbidden fruit. It is thus a necessary condition of attaining abundant life. The denial of freedom is the denial of the right to soul expansion; it is the assertion that what is new is wrong simply because it is new.

## "LIFE IS A BECOMING"

Of all the philosophies, that of the ancient Greek who declared that "life is a becoming" satisfies me most. I know that I am a very different person from what I was forty, thirty, and even twenty years ago. I am con-

scious that from time to time my outlook upon life has undergone radical change, my system of values been revolutionized. I shudder when I think of the values which some of my early Sunday School teachers tried to foist upon me.

In other words, my life has been a series of conversions, each conversion having been attended by a revolution. I still gather instruction in trying to understand them.

The richest memories of my youth are connected with people who were kind to me, and tried to explain things to me. I remember the kindly women who gave me pennies when pennies were scarce, and the equally kindly men who gave me smiles when pennies were hard to earn.

But I learned most from my mother, who, so far as I remember, never taught me a single "lesson." She knew no theology in days when theology was the only virtue and the sole passport to the only good offered in those hard times—Heaven hereafter. I learnt most from her because she was the most intensely human person I knew—or have since known. She was so human that she broke all the canons of Puritan perfection, but without knowing it. It was she who taught me how beautiful the human spirit and valuable human relations could be, and it was that knowledge which inspired my first revolt, my first big adventure in freedom.

## THEOLOGY—AND BUSINESS

At eighteen years of age I was persuaded to occupy the pulpit by men who had no idea of the thoughts I was thinking. They expected me to carry on the Puritan tradition of isolating doctrinal theology, the cornerstone of which was "believing" in the Son of God, from business practice, whereas the one thing that shouted at me at every street corner was the inhumanity of Puritan industrialism. This combination—probably unconscious—of inhumanity and Sabbatarian other-worldliness increasingly shocked me and compelled me to expose and denounce it on every possible occasion.

The Elders of the Church rose up against me. I had committed the unpardonable sin of implying that salvation might come by good deeds, by acting justly rather than by "believing" in the redemptive power of Christ.

That conflict, which lasted many years, established in my mind two vital truths: first, that life is mainly an unexplored terrain which offers infinite scope for self-fulfilment, and second, that life is both quantitative and qualitative, the art of living being

the art of attaining abundant and ever-increasing life.

To this end freedom was essential: freedom to do what reason, knowledge, instinct, intuition, in happy unison, constrained one to do. The door to freedom had been for me the discovery that human relations are of greater importance and have a greater life-value than great possessions.

But knowledge was not enough: it was necessary to act upon it. Hence my second revolt, my second adventure in moral freedom: I changed the purpose and course of my existence.

## MORE DISCOVERIES

There followed many other discoveries. Having terminated the practice of "working for money" in a society organized for that especial purpose, I began to "live" in everything I did. I no longer went out to work for a "living," to earn money in and by which to live; I now lived all the time.

Since those days industrial labour has become increasingly impersonal, more and more a matter of money-making. It is rarely an end in itself, but a means to secure bread, shelter, and a few paltry amenities for the worker, and growing profits for the investor.

Among my later discoveries was this, that the materialistic, decadent civilization of today led naturally and with increasing inevitability to that modern monstrosity, the totalitarian State, and that this called for a revolt—the creation of microcosms of democracy, which would eventually absorb the State.

Finally it became clear to me that this creative purpose was the true way to world peace, and should therefore be regarded as the essential mission of pacifism. Hence pacifism was no longer a merely negative policy of non-resistance, but an instrument of creative peace, and incidentally a social revolution.

In this new society work will be a veritable part of life, an expression of truth and beauty. Ruskin said: "There is no wealth but life." So we pacifists say: There is no art but life.

We are making for a life in which men will not drudge in field and factory in order to be able to enjoy "art" in leisure hours: they will practise art and create beauty from morning until evening in producing the straight furrow, the smooth board, the soft scarf, the graceful bowl, baskets of unblemished fruit, and therein delight and magnify their souls.

Pacifism thus becomes a social revolution.

**A NOURISHING FOOD** CADBURY'S BOURNVILLE PLAIN CHOCOLATE



## P.P.U. Women's Section

## A CHANCE TO APPEAL TO WOMEN NOW

By Irene T. Barclay

AT the time of Munich the PPU published a small leaflet quoting a conversation between three working-women on a doorstep. It was a true conversation. After talking about their dread of war, one of the women had said, "It's funny to think there are German women standing on a doorstep and saying just the same thing."

The attitude of many people who had reached this stage of understanding and imagination did not harden when the war started, and nearly always when women spoke from their own experience of what war meant in their lives they spoke without hatred or bitterness toward Germans.

I do not think there has been, or is, anything like a war fever among women now, though the press and BBC are doing their best to evoke one.

## SOME WARTIME TROUBLES

Consider three ways in which women, perhaps more than men, are suffering from the war today.

First—there is the breaking up of family life; menfolk being called up, and often facing danger on the sea, in the air, or in the Middle East; children having to live away from their parents; mothers having to decide between the claims of older and younger children. This affects women in all walks of life.

Second—in London and many other towns there are the raids. The bombs fall haphazardly; killing and wounding, interfering with work and livelihood, destroying homes. Thousands of women, generally for the sake of their children, spend a great part of their lives in shelters or tubes, and in making preparations for the night, drying, airing, and packing bedding and so on.

Third—there are the difficulties of rising prices and shortage of food and other essentials, the general worries of house-keeping. This affects all but the well-to-do, and is hardest for the very poor, including soldiers' dependents, whose allowances are absurdly inadequate.

## NO ENTHUSIASM

Here are only a few instances of wartime troubles. Yet apart from a few of the "Daily Hate", make-them-feel-it-too, better-to-kill-every-German-females, I do not find any enthusiasm for the war among women; only a dull fed-upness, the feeling of being trapped and helpless, the strain of insecurity and suspense. If they dare, and sometimes they do, women who have never before expressed unconventional opinions will say openly that they want the war to end.

This for us is a dangerous position—"Finish this accursed war and let me have the life I'm used to again" has nothing whatsoever to do with pacifism. It is an unthinking reaction to unpleasant circumstances.

But I am convinced that this jolting of people out of their ruts gives us a great opportunity. We are working and sharing sadness and anxiety with other people who are often disinterested and humane, but who have never considered an alternative to meeting force by force, to armaments mightier yet, to bombing and starving vast populations.

## OPPORTUNITIES

There is no short cut with pacifist propaganda. Sometimes there are opportunities to talk to strangers, to put a new point of view, to suggest the implications of an opinion. Sometimes it is possible with friends and fellow-workers to reach fundamentals, to think more deeply together than ever before.

Often nothing can be done by talking at all, and no amount of talking will have any effect unless we can establish friendships and win respect and confidence. There are many women as well as men who have voluntarily given up good posts and sacrificed pensions and prestige for the sake of their pacifist faith; others who risk dismissal or imprisonment or loss of friends.

It is a grand thing to have the courage of pacifist opinions in wartime. The time may come when women will be ready to make a collective as well as an individual witness to pacifism.

## GROUP NOTES

John Barclay on

New Year

## RELATIONS

## Hopes

ONE thing we all have in common—relations. During Christmas we shall have been coming into close contact with them and once more have discovered the truth that whatever we may be in the eyes of friends or strangers, to our relations we are still what they always knew us—cousins, nephews, brothers, sisters—and therefore very much of common clay.

While this may be a salutary experience and a necessary one, it also shows the impossibility of converting the unconvertible. (Whoever heard of a nephew converting his uncle or a brother his sister?) It is therefore with regret that I come to the conclusion that my relations—the non-pacifist ones—must be left to you, and in exchange I undertake to convert yours!

Behind this rather obviously wise psychological adjustment lies perhaps a possible way out of other impasses. In the group, as in the family, relationships are sometimes strained, and it may well be that a prophet from another country would be able to convert the otherwise obdurate member. To obtain this result without friction and with as much speed as possible, it would be an extremely good move if every group arranged an interchange of speakers with others in the same area and went ahead with plans for week end schools and small invitation meetings.

There are many people, those we used to call "Yes-but's", who would be encouraged by our faith if we could approach them along impersonal channels. Along the line of personal contact there is a soreness and a subsequent resistance to even friendly pressure. They may have been emotionally convinced, perhaps, and are waiting for an intellectual touch finally to complete the job; or, vice versa, only need to experience friendship from outside the near circle, to be given the impetus which will lead them toward the pacifist camp.

It is of the utmost importance that speed should be the motto of 1941; speed of thought, speed of decision, and speed of action, when action has been decided upon. We cannot afford to become circles of friendly pacifists without extending the circle to those non-pacifists who are on the fringe. The whole subject of "relationships"—as well as relations—is surely a matter for immediate group discussion.

My own "relations" with the groups are such as to be able to wish them all a very happy New Year and with a full understanding of what that means to us all.

MANY groups, I know, are determined to begin the new year with a vigorous shaking up of their reserves. New members are beginning to come in and in some cases evacuation has brought members from bombed areas and so given new blood to the country groups.

One of the great hopes of this new year is that we shall be able to help in the formation of a new public opinion. This opens up the possibility of public meetings and leaflet distribution.

With the coming of spring let us be ready with a peace crusade. It depends on you. J.B.

Belfast.—A long letter has just come to hand from Belfast, where work among the groups is still going on with vigour. Peace News selling on the streets was given up some time ago, but may possibly be restarted in the new year. Actual sales of the paper have, however, gone up to six dozen again and a system of private distribution has been worked out, as well as distribution through some shops which have agreed to stock the paper once more. The only disruption comes in transport from London, which is slow and uncertain.

Women members have been active in working for the PSB and have sent off many clothes and contributions from their weekly meetings.

There is a live fellowship of pacifists in Londonderry and a general desire among all of them everywhere for a more intimate fellowship with Headquarters.

Dorking.—Although only a small group, the work undertaken on behalf of the COs has been unwearied. The local cases are all followed up to the Appeal and many satisfactory results have been obtained. The group is also co-operating with the East Hants and West Surrey region in the Chesscombe Farm CO Community. They have guaranteed £52 a year toward its upkeep and have, in fact, collected that amount already. Other CO schemes are now being considered by the Dorking Committee with a view to further help.

Another piece of work undertaken by a number of the group is along the lines of income-pooling, and any information will be gladly forthcoming from Walter B. Birmingham, Fredley Lodge, Mickleham, Dorking.

Highgate.—I visited this group just before Christmas on a night when the "blitz" was quite lively, and was delighted to find a very good attendance. It is these meetings of especially keen members that warms the heart and sends the blood of new inspiration coursing through our veins. Many London groups could, I feel sure, imitate Highgate's

## ANARCHISM and DEMOCRACY

By F. A. LEA

ONE of the most distressing features of the tribunals for COs held up to date has been the number of pacifists who have allowed themselves to be drawn into futile disputes over Biblical texts.

One would have thought that this particular version of the appeal to authority (which has nothing whatever to do with conscience, truly understood) would have been obsolete by now—if only because it can so easily be confuted on its own level; texts enjoining mercy and forgiveness are far out-numbered by those that command the chosen of the Lord to smite and spare not; and tribunals have repeatedly shown their intimate acquaintance with the latter.

Probably the appeal on the part of applicants has in many cases been more apparent than real; probably most of the men examined so far, who have objected on Christian grounds, would, had they been more articulate, have declared boldly that their interpretation of Christian ethics rested on the New Testament alone, and was an individual one at that. Still, the number of those who actually have thus distinguished between the letter and the spirit has been rather small.

## Appeal to Tolstoy

It was, therefore, the more refreshing to hear, a few months ago, that a certain magistrate had been disconcerted by an objector who appealed not only to the Bible but to Tolstoy. "How do so many people get hold of books by foreigners?" this patriot had cried, "Why do you go stravaiging after Tolstoy?"

For, whether or not his indictment of foreigners was meant to include the authors of the Bible it is certain that Tolstoy is the best possible corrective to this error. He, of all men, most clearly emphasized the truth that a Christianity drawn from the Bible must, to be consistent with itself, be an individual Christianity; and he, of all men, was the most rigorous in obeying the Christian code, once he had decided what it was.

But it is not to Tolstoy as the corrective of a fundamentalist interpretation of the Bible that I wish to refer here, but to Tolstoy as the corrective of a spiritual, yet one-sided interpretation. For, if the dangers of basing a creed on the letter and not the spirit of a text are great, the dangers of basing one on the spirit and the letter may be even greater. Tolstoy is an exemplary corrective to these because, though he condensed the Christian message to the Sermon on the Mount, he took the precepts of the sermon so literally that his whole life is an illustration of what that involves.

## 'Resist not Evil'

The pivot of his political philosophy was the injunction, "Resist not evil," many pacifists, like Tolstoy himself, have made that the inspiration of their refusal to bear arms; but Tolstoy himself realized from the first how much more it involved than that. He pursued its implications to the bitter end; and, because he did so in practice as well as in theory, the end was bitter indeed.

In fact, it involved him in a prac-

tice by meeting in private houses between Monday and Saturday. If they will drop me a line I will gladly come and visit them if the day is free.

Forward Movement.—There was a fine rally of pacifists at the public meeting under the title "Peace and Good Will—Why not?" organized by the Forward Movement on Sunday, December 22. The Aeolian Hall was crowded, and more than 100 had to be satisfied with standing-room only.

The speakers were Middleton Murry, Reginald Sorensen MP, Fenner Brockway, Ethel Mannin, and Donald Soper. David Spreckley was in the chair. A collection for the expenses of the meeting realized over £22. There was no disturbance of any kind.

## A NEW FARM AT LANGHAM

The Adelphi Centre, Langham, has just acquired an additional small farm of 30 acres, making its total holding over 60 acres. There is immediate and urgent need of at least £250 for the equipment necessary to bring the land, which has been neglected, into full cultivation; and first of all, for a pair of good farm-horses, ploughs, harrows and tumbrils.

It is imperative that the new farm, the purchase of which was made possible by a generous loan free of interest, should not be starved for lack of working capital. Contributions should be sent direct to Max Plogman, The Oaks, Langham, Essex.

tically complete severance from the society to which he belonged; and not only the society, but the family. He became an anarchist. That is to say, he repudiated the State and all that the State existed to uphold; for, said he, "Government is, for the Christian, only regulated violence."

The assertion is not to be denied. It may be violence used against murderers—murderers, forgers, thieves—it is none the less violence; and if you accept the injunction, "Resist not evil," as an absolute, there is no course open to you but the course of Tolstoy. You must, like him, fore-swear the employment and protection of the police: you must, like him, fore-swear the employment and protection of the police: you must refuse to administer the law or pay any taxes; you must abandon all property that would not be left in your hands were the protection of the law denied you.

And in nine cases out of ten, obedience to the injunction would involve for you what it did for him: a rift with your family. For Tolstoy's wife, the Countess, did not share his conviction of the necessity for taking the Sermon on the Mount literally. She was not tormented by what he called a "crying discord between my life and my beliefs and conscience" every time she enjoyed the luxuries natural to a member of the Russian ruling class. Consequently, if he was to still his conscience, it was necessary that he should largely sever his relations with her.

## Problem of Suffering

Until the very end of his life Tolstoy was unable to make that final renunciation: not because he could not bear to part with all that his wife represented, but simply because the infliction of suffering upon her seemed inconsistent with the purpose for which it was to be inflicted.

Many have experienced such a conflict between private affection and a divine vocation—Jesus was one—but in Tolstoy it lasted for years. Only at the end did he see for certain that the divine vocation must be put first; and he was convinced of it in a paradoxical way. He had been afraid of giving pain to the Countess by leaving her; but in the long run the inward conflict set up by his failure to obey his mission estranged them as effectively as obedience itself would have done. The choice had lain, not between obeying his mission and being kind to his wife, but between being unkind to her by obeying it and being unkind by failing to obey.

"During the last period of our life," he wrote, some years before his final dash into the snow and darkness, "we have drifted asunder. I cannot think I am to blame, for I know I changed not for myself, nor for other people's sake, but because I could do no other. Neither can I blame you for not following me . . ." That period has been an illustration of the truth enunciated by Jesus: "If any man come to me and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren . . . he cannot be my disciple."

## Risk of Self-Deception

If you are not prepared to become an anarchist, in practice as well as in theory; if you are not willing to make all the sacrifices that Tolstoy was called upon to make, you are running the risk of a fatal self-deception when you justify your refusal to bear arms by the injunction, "Resist not evil." Ten to one no member of a tribunal would have the insight to expose the deception; but if he were really a Christian, he would feel it, and so would other people.

The pacifist movement will suffer a fatal degradation in the eyes of the public if its members allow themselves to escape military service on the grounds of obedience to the Sermon on the Mount, and yet claim the rights of citizenship in all the other activities of their lives.

(To be concluded)

## WAR and CAPITALISM

THERE is a tendency in some sections of the pacifist movement to lay the blame for this and other wars on the capitalist system, and vague statements are made about sweeping away the present system after the war.

While capitalism has admittedly many faults, and singularly few virtues, we should not use it as a scapegoat and lay all our sins on an impersonal system. The cause of this war and of most others was a selfish, dishonest, unjust national life—in fact a refusal to accept the Christian way of living.

And the roots of this national policy lay in the individual lives of ordinary men. If we were Christian in our lives we would elect Christian men as our rulers and they, guiding our country according to God's will, would not have led us into war.

It is true, however, that if England were a Christian country we would not have tolerated the present form of capitalism. It is a very unchristian system which permits the limitation of production and the destruction of goods, to maintain prices, in a land where men are in want. And it is wrong that one man should live in idleness and luxury because his father was useful, while another must leave school at fourteen to start work.

### INSTEAD OF CAPITALISM

But if capitalism is to be swept away, what is to be put in its place? It must be a system not merely to maintain but to increase our industrial output, and must be coupled with a system of distribution such that everyone may have an equal share. This happy state does not obtain today because people work for themselves instead of for each other. The man who becomes a capitalist is no worse than the worker.

The system is generally tolerated because everyone hopes to gain by it—if not to become a manager, to become a foreman; if not to be a foreman, to become a charge-hand. It is a system which gives one man the chance of rising above another, of earning a higher wage, and fundamentally of partly living by his fellows' labours. In fact the difference between the owner of the works and his foreman is only one of degree—both are capitalists and the rest of the workers generally aspire to be capitalists and tolerate the system because it gives them the chance.

The causes of the evils of our capitalism, like the causes of war, lie in our individual philosophies of life; and if we accepted Christ's way, we would not tolerate one or the other nor would we be in our present mess.

W. N. Dewhurst

### Light—Under a Bushel

THE recent statement of the leaders of the British Churches, Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Free, wherein they accepted the "Five Peace Points" of the Pope, and added further basic principles of their own, is at least a great advance upon anything said by the politicians. In any case, speaking and reasoning upon principles is infinitely better than shouting and reprisals.

It is to be more regretted that no-one seems to have been entrusted with the task of giving the statement adequate publicity. Instead of being issued through a news agency—and such a statement is still news—it was issued in the form of a letter to *The Times* alone. That shows a lamentable lack of understanding of the machinery of propaganda in the modern world.

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John W. Cowling's New Year Slogan—

## EVERY READER A WORKER!

THE start of a new year is traditionally the time for assessing one's accomplishments (and failures!) and for making solemn declarations to do better in future.

In 1940 our readers have valiantly helped us to keep *Peace News* going, despite Defence Regulations, printing troubles, the wholesalers' ban, and heavy air raids. Although conditions are still abnormal—judged by old standards—and it is difficult to plan for the future with any certainty, we want to make 1941 a year of advance.

To borrow military terms, we must not remain on the defensive but must take the initiative ourselves. So I give you a New Year Resolution: To Leave no opportunity untried which might help to extend the influence of *Peace News*.

Coupled with this, let us have a slogan: Every reader a worker! Everyone can do something to help; watch this column for hints each week!

Here is this week's hint: Don't destroy each copy when you have read it—pass it on to a sympathetic friend, or leave it in a bus or restaurant.

For me the last month of 1940 provided grounds to hope for great things in the new year.

First came visits to three "model" regions—West Herts., Barnet, and Gloucestershire—where the paper is distributed from a central

### News of C.O.s

A well-known Swansea PPU member applied to the Post Office locally for a temporary job. He was asked whether he had registered and upon revealing that he had been exempted as a CO was told he was not wanted. Two other PPU members, however, have secured temporary employment with the Post Office without inquiries being made on this point.

Swansea Council recently confirmed, by 24 votes to 21, a decision not to dismiss COs. This council had dismissed COs a few months ago and later reversed the decision.

A member of the National Council of the PPU, Richard L. Bishop, was given unconditional exemption by the South Wales Tribunal on December 13.

Advisory Bureau for COs.—A. G. Drewett, of 3, Verden Avenue, London Road, Rayleigh, is trying to form a bureau locally, and anyone interested should get in touch with him.

## Dr. Alex Wood

(Continued from page 1)

on the faith of both sides in the methods of cruelty, violence, and brutality. A victory by these methods is a victory for these methods. So far from teaching the defeated nation that war does not pay, it leaves it more convinced than ever that armed strength is the only thing that does pay if only you are strong enough.

★

Our immediate task then is clear. The real struggle is not the military struggle at all. The real issues will not be decided by bomb or blockade, on the battlefield or at the barricades. So long as war continues those who are fighting for a Christian civilization or a new social order are fighting at best a rearguard action and at worst a losing battle.

The weapons of our warfare are spiritual, political, and economic, and the one condition which will give us a chance of victory is a negotiated peace. And our confidence is that the values which we desire to see established—justice and freedom and truth and love—are rooted and grounded in the real world, and their triumph is inherent in the cosmic purpose.

For some of us this faith will be based on our study of evolution and of history and on our personal experience of life. For others the Incarnation to which the season has once again directed our thoughts will be the sign and seal, and we shall pass on into the new year with renewed confidence in the power which, without official recognition from Mr. Churchill or Herr Hitler, has preserved over Christmas a spontaneous truce and convinced us afresh of the essential incongruity between the Christian message and the methods of war.

### Circulation Notes

point over a wide area by post, bicycle, or on Shanks's pony! Though each region differs from the others in local conditions, all are good examples of the truly co-operative schemes now working in many places.

Secondly, a visit to Oxford, where (as I reported last week) the almost incredible number of 7 dozen copies are sold on the streets weekly—by a pacifist no longer young in years but with an enthusiasm which puts some of us youngsters to shame!

Thirdly, a tour of South Wales where, especially in some of the smaller towns, pacifism is very much alive. (A Pontypool group meeting of about a dozen members set the pace by increasing their weekly order from eighteen to 26 and asking for 7 dozen copies of the Christmas number!)

My spirits went even higher when I returned to the office two days before Christmas to learn that more than 4,000 extra copies of the Christmas number had been ordered.

\* \* \*

After that, even the prospect of joining the street-sellers at High Barnet on Saturday seemed not too bad. And so it proved to be: three of us sold fifteen copies in an hour-and-a-quarter. The only remarks addressed to us were sympathetic (although we did overhear one or two of a different variety—spoken not to us but about us!)

However, I was agreeably surprised at the results. Try it yourself—we must not ignore any opportunities in these critical days.

### Story of Non-Violence

To the Editor of *Peace News*

YOUR readers may be interested to know that a novel just published tells the story of King Asoka, the first great conqueror to disarm his people, renounce war, and rule by moral force alone. This is *When Peacocks Called*, by Hilda Seligman (John Lane, 7s. 6d.).

The book carries a foreword by Rabindranath Tagore, who refers to the "perennially modern significance" of the story. *The Times Literary Supplement*, in the issue of December 14, recommends it as the best novel of the week—while tactfully suppressing the anti-war theme—and this may further indicate its literary quality.

The book tells how Asoka, after a terrible slaughter which filled him with disgust for the devastating effects of war, ordered his men to destroy their arms. As an upholder of peaceful arbitration rather than of battle, Asoka won the confidence and loyalty of his subjects in far greater measure than he did with all the glamour of a war-lord.

No invader attempted to violate the frontiers of India, though his edicts graven on the rocks and in the mountain caves formed the only fortifications. "Where he passed, the desert came to life, the drab earth lit up with the gold of corn, the silver-green of rice. Beyond the frontiers his builders supervised the erection of hospitals, until Hindustan stood as a model to mankind of the policy of non-violence."

Today India may once more make that proud claim. J.H.B.  
Gerrards Cross.

### Community Notes

Stone Bower (Burton-in-Lonsdale), having been furnished completely with gifts and loans of furniture and utensils, is now ready to offer accommodation to at least 20 people from the bombed areas. They hope to arrange this through Liverpool PPU people and the Pacifist Service Unit there.

The heavy work in the house is being done by COs to whom they are able to give a small amount of pocket money and maintenance. The Appellate Tribunal at Southport recently gave exemption to a man on condition he remained one of their helpers.

They are in touch with a few farmers who will be willing to take COs in early spring.

\* \* \*

"Our first report announced that we were beginning a community," writes E.C.H. in a further report, issued at Christmas on *Ellerslie Community*. "In this second report, issued after a year's experience, I want to persuade others to begin." Other members of the community—nearly all except the babies ("Susan has lived in community all her life; she can't speak for herself!")—in effect do the same. For the report is less a record of things done than an avowed attempt to express the message of community. The address of "Ellerslie" is Sully Road, Penarth, Glamorgan.

\* \* \*

The East Hants and West Surrey PPU Region have started a small community settlement for agriculture and market gardening at Cheescombe Farm, Hawley, Liss, Hants.; a young married couple from Portsmouth are in charge. There are a few vacancies for unmarried COs who want to make a serious attempt toward a new way of life, and any wishing to hear more about the scheme should write to Mr. C. Earl, 3, Molyneux Road, Farncombe, Godalming, Surrey.

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TO LET, front room, ground level, for furniture storage; 7s 6d weekly. 61 Pepps Rd., London, S.E.14.

WANTED, accommodation, community, family, or board; Hounslow, Hanwell, and Uxbridge area. Box 621, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### EDUCATIONAL

A GROUP of pacifist Christians propose opening in a safe area a boarding school for boys. We are fully qualified and in close touch with modern educational thought. We are very interested in the place of practical craftsmanship in a school community and are especially concerned with the reintegration of Christianity and Education. With these ideas education to the Higher School Certificate Standard will be provided. Fees will be as low as possible and financial considerations should not prevent anyone from inquiring. Parents interested are invited to write to Ronald Youngs, 54 Inverine Road, Charlton, S.E.7.

LEARN to write and speak for peace and human brotherhood, harnessing artistic, imaginative, intuitive, and intellectual gifts, correspondence lessons 5s. each—Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 22 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3

### FOR SALE

A GRAND OPPORTUNITY occurs for a conscientious person to acquire a superbly equipped Delicatessen Shop with good quality snack bar attached; the only capital needed will be for stock, which can be reduced to suit individual; fittings etc can be paid for out of profits; owner prepared to arrange any other terms with the right person. Box 620, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

CYCLES: Britain's best at £6 15s., carriage paid; every necessary accessory; even to cyclo-meter. Made by over 40 years' established Harris Cycle Co., Coventry.

### LAND and COMMUNITY

AMERSHAM, Bucks, District: CO, 28, requires part gardening or farming (not milking); accommodation?; 6 months experience, car-driver, handyman. Rought, Kims, Orchard Lane, Amersham.

CO., 24, CONDITIONALLY EXEMPTED, seeks land work; inexperienced; or would join community; able to support himself for 6 months; south or west of England preferred. Box 623, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

CO., 26, married, requires land work; inexperienced, but willing to work hard. Box 623, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

EX-SUPERVISING CLERK, CO (34), exempted, requires agricultural work; drives car. Box 619, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED, members to form small agricultural community for market gardening project. Write Box G, Smith's Bookstall, Hebburn Station, Co. Durham.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

INTERTYPE OPERATOR required immediately; must be quick, clean, conscientious, good mechanical knowledge; N.W. London district; L.S.C. Box 618, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

NURSERY SCHOOL (small) evacuated to Gloucestershire urgently requires the following residential staff: (1) Cook, must be experienced and fond of children; (2) Domestic worker for general housework and assistance. Family atmosphere. Apply The Warden, Kingsley Hall, Dagenham, Essex.

### SITUATIONS and WORK WANTED

BLIND ORGANIST-CHOIRMASTER. F.R.C.O., L.R.A.M., pacifist views, desires post, Evangelical or Nonconformist; consider any district. Richard Aldridge, 28 The Avenue, Worcester Park, Surrey.

CO., 22, B.Sc., first-class honours Mathematics, Durham University, desires mathematical or statistical work, or opening in chartered accountant's office. Box 622, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

HUMANITARIAN Work required by conditionally exempt CO: Reg. Dade, 50, St. Michael's Avenue, Yeovil.

PACIFIST GROCERY MANAGER seeks similar reserved occupation; bombed out of previous post; age 37; good references, Box 617, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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BECK ALLANS, Gramere; peaceful surroundings and restful atmosphere make this charming guest house attractive for a long or short stay; special period terms; first class vegetarian diet; h and e in all rooms. Write Fay K. Jones; phone Gramere 129.

### MISCELLANEOUS

MAIDENHEAD PPU Group meets every Sunday at 3 pm at Friends' Meeting House, West Street.

MISS J. D. WALLINGTON (and Mrs. Helen Whitcomb), health practitioner, osteopath, bone-setter, treats all conditions of ill-health by natural methods; consultations by appointments. 1 Ashley Place, S.W.1. (Victoria 0131), and 2 Norton Way North, Letchworth.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

THE PEACE WITNESS: sample Posters on application. Northern Friends' Peace Board, Friends' Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds, 2.